

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7014
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 03737

EXDIS

USSALT TWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR WARNKE'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 9, 1978
(SALT TWO-1653)

1. THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR
WARNKE AT SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 9, 1978:

- STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARNKE
- MARCH 9, 1978

MR. MINISTER:

- I

TODAY I WILL ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF REDUCTIONS OF
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AS PROVIDED FOR IN PARAGRAPH 2
OF ARTICLE III OF THE TREATY, AND THE TIMING OF SUCH
REDUCTIONS. I WILL ALSO ADDRESS THE PROPOSALS OF THE
SIDES FOR PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE V OF THE TREATY.

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- II

WITH REGARD TO THE PROVISIONS OF PARAGRAPH 2 OF
ARTICLE III OF THE TREATY, THE SOVIET UNION HAS PROPOSED
AN AGGREGATE LIMITATION OF 2250 ON THE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS, WHILE THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED A

LOWER FIGURE OF 2160. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE SOVIET UNION HAS PROPOSED THAT THE DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS NECESSARY TO REACH THE REDUCED AGGREGATE LEVEL WOULD COMMENCE ON JANUARY 1, 1981 AND WOULD BE COMPLETED WITHIN EIGHTEEN MONTHS, WHILE THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED THAT THESE ACTIONS BE INITIATED ON JANUARY 1, 1980 AND BE COMPLETED WITHIN SIX MONTHS. FURTHER, THE SOVIET UNION HAS PROPOSED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE V THAT LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS BE LIMITED TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER OF 1250. THE UNITED STATES HAD PROPOSED A LESSER AGGREGATE OF 1200 FOR THESE SYSTEMS.

- III

AS YOU ARE AWARE, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT STRATEGIC STABILITY CAN NOT ONLY BE MAINTAINED BUT ENHANCED AT REDUCED LEVELS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. INDEED, THIS IS A MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, TO WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS SUBSCRIBED. AGREEMENT UPON AN AGGREGATE OF 2160 STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR STATED MUTUAL GOAL OF FURTHER LIMITING AND REDUCING SUCH ARMS.

WITH RESPECT TO THE MATTER OF TIMING, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT COMPLETION OF REDUCTIONS BY MID-1980
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IS NECESSARY FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

- IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO STABILITY THROUGH THE ATTAINMENT AT THE EARLIEST PRACTICABLE TIME OF LOWER LEVELS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.
- IT WOULD PROVIDE AT AN EARLY DATE IN THE FOLLOW-ON NEGOTIATIONS REDUCED CEILINGS FROM WHICH FURTHER REDUCTIONS CAN BE MADE.
- IT WOULD BY DEMONSTRATING THE INTENT OF THE SIDES TO ACCOMPLISH FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN A TIMELY MANNER CONTRIBUTE TO A POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS.

- IV

THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS RECENTLY STATED ITS VIEW THAT RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUES DEALT WITH ON A TEMPORARY BASIS IN THE PROTOCOL WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO DETERMINE WHICH STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WOULD BE DISMANTLED OR DESTROYED TO REACH THE LEVELS SPECIFIED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF

ARTICLE III OF THE TREATY. WE DO NOT FIND THE REASONING
BEHIND THIS ARGUMENT TO BE COMPELLING. IN ANY EVENT,
SINCE MAINTENANCE AND ENHANCEMENT OF STABILITY ARE THE
PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES TO BE ACHIEVED, THE UNITED STATES
CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT TIMELY REDUCTIONS ARE OF PRIMARY
IMPORTANCE AND THE BEFORE IN THIS CONTEXT SHOULD TAKE
PRECEDENCE OVER FORCE-STRUCTURING CONSIDERATIONS.
FURTHER, WE BELIEVE THAT THESE REDUCTIONS CAN BE UNDER-
TAKEN AND COMPLETED IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH THE

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SECURITY OF BOTH SIDES WITHOUT AWAITING RESOLUTION OF THE
ISSUES DEALT WITH IN THE PROTOCOL.

THE UNITED STATES HAS CONSIDERED SOVIET VIEWS AND
SUPPORTING RATIONALE REGARDING BOTH THE DATE WHEN RE-
DUCTIONS SHOULD BEGIN AND THE PERIOD OF TIME WHICH SHOULD
BE SPECIFIED FOR THEIR COMPLETION. WE CONTINUE TO
BELIEVE THAT THE DATE PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION
FOR INITIATION OF REDUCTIONS IS UNREASONABLY LATE, AND
THAT THE PROPOSED PERIOD FOR COMPLETION OF SUCH RE-
DUCTIONS IS UNREASONABLY LONG. PROMPT INITIATION AND
COMPLETION OF THESE REDUCTIONS, AS PROPOSED BY THE UNITED
STATES, WOULD DEMONSTRATE THE POSITIVE INTENT OF THE SIDES
TO MOVE IN A SIMILAR MANNER TOWARD FURTHER REDUCTIONS.
EQUALLY IMPORTANT, ABSENT SUCH A DEMONSTRATION OF
READINESS TO COMPLETE THESE REDUCTIONS AS EARLY AS
PRACTICABLE, OUR MUTUAL GOAL OF AGREEMENT ON FURTHER

REDUCTIONS IN THE FOLLOW-ON NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE.

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THIS GOAL OF FURTHER REDUCTIONS HAS ALREADY BEEN AGREED TO FOR INCLUSION IN THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND BASIC GUIDELINES FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. IN ADDITION, THE SIDES HAVE AGREED THAT THIS FURTHER LIMITATION AND FURTHER REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WOULD SERVE TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND TO REDUCE THE RISK OF OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR. THE ATTAINMENT OF REDUCED LEVELS AT AN EARLY DATE DURING THE FOLLOW-ON NEGOTIATIONS WILL PROVIDE THE INTERMEDIATE CEILINGS WHICH WILL SERVE AS A BASIS FOR THESE FURTHER REDUCTIONS.

- V

A RELATED ISSUE IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AGGREGATE LIMITATION ON LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. THE UNITED STATES NOTES THAT NEITHER SIDE HAS YET REACHED THE 1200 LEVEL PROPOSED BY THE UNITED STATES NOR WILL EITHER SIDE DO SO FOR SEVERAL YEARS; THUS IF THE SIDES AGREE NOW TO ESTABLISH THIS LIMITATION THEY INCUR NO DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION OBLIGATIONS THEREBY WITH REGARD TO THESE ARMS. AGREEMENT TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER OF 1200 RATHER THAN 1250 WOULD BE MORE CONSISTENT WITH THE STATED OBJECTIVE OF THE SIDES TO TAKE MEASURES FOR THE FURTHER LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. IN LIGHT OF THE STATED SOVIET VIEW THAT ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS ARE THE MOST DESTABILIZING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, THE LOWER AGGREGATE OF 1200 SHOULD SERVE EQUALLY THE COMMON INTEREST OF THE SOVIET UNION AND UNITED STATES.

- VI

MR. MINISTER, ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE
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UNITED STATES WHICH I HAVE ADDRESSED TODAY WILL PROVIDE A CLEAR DEMONSTRATION OF THE RESOLVE OF EACH SIDE TO ACHIEVE MEANINGFUL ARMS CONTROL MEASURES AND WILL IMPROVE PROSPECTS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE FOLLOW-ON NEGOTIATIONS TO WHICH THE SIDES ARE COMMITTED. I LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR

RESPONSE TO THE CONSIDERATIONS I HAVE SET FORTH TODAY.

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